796 liturgy, swaying and dancing to the rythm of their raised
346 voices, the beat of huge drums, and the tinkling of sistra.

Laymen may also occupy sections within this third enclosure, mostly near the northern end. There is no seating. Standing is required during the long services
● [481] that begin just before dawn and last many hours. Therefore, priests and chanters lean on "maqomya", strong bamboo crutches equipped with iron or even silver concave tops. These are also used as they sway with the rythm when the dancing is in progress. These crutches may be privately owned; but many churches own simpler ones as church utensils. When important visitors, "great men" and their guests attend, without maqomyas of their own, the chief priest usually takes those owned or used by the lesser priests to supply the Very Important Persons, to the barely disguised displeasure of the regular users.

346 562 Women are not admitted even into this third outer enclosure. They must remain outside the church building, in the yard, or leaning against the hard-mud wall, or, at a more pretentious church, under the outer colonade of wooden posts which support the overhanging edge of the roof. The roof, usually thatched, but of imported corrugated iron in better urban churches, is usually ornamented with an iron cross adorned with wooden or metal ostrich eggs.(This custom may be of older, African, origin.)

201 554 argumentative peasant-gabbar). The body expresses almost the permanence and immobility of a statue, as if the high-status person could not be surprised or dismayed by anything, certain that all things due him will come to him.

516 The famous "Nilotic stance", stork-like, in which the person stands on one leg, resting the foot of the other against the inner knee of standing leg, is found in the Amhara only among young boys, and an occasional, low-class adult.

554 481 In walking, nobles of the old school walk slowly, somewhat heavily, as if in formal procession. Members of their retinue carry their cane, overcoat, etc. By contrast, laborers carrying heavy burdens walk catlike, largely on the instep, and fairly fast.

F. The Language of the Toga ("shamma").

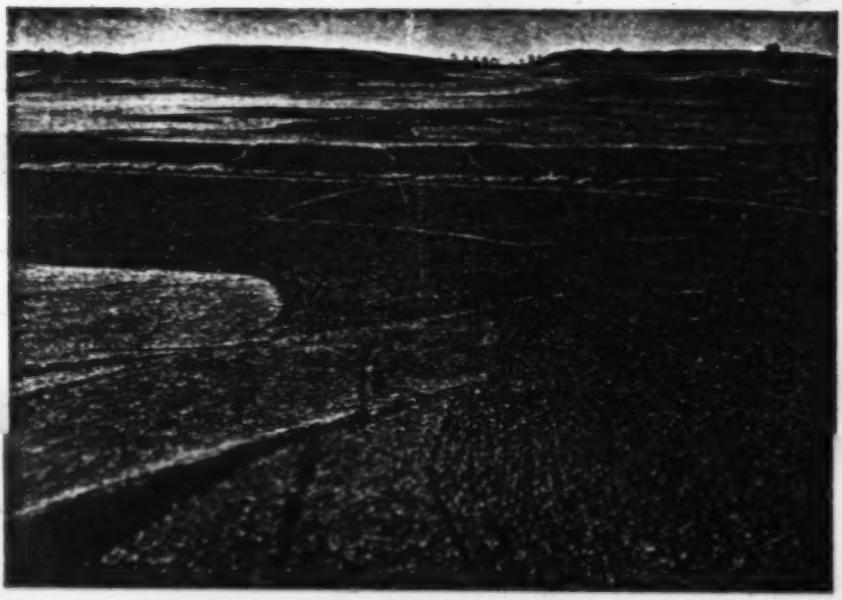
201 291 The toga is used in so many different, formal ways by the Amhara to express moods, occasion and social status in the presence of persons of differing social status, that the language of the shamma has been likened to the "language of the buffalo robe" of the Plains Indians of America (footnote 95).

The most common way of draping this usually 6 ft. long, 2-1/2 ft. wide garment can be described as "out-going"; called "ǎlabbǎsa"; The toga is draped around the upper body so that it gives a turtleneck effect, the embroidered border extends from the shoulder to the waist. This may indicate that the young wearer is in an out-going, expansive mood, considers himself a gay blade going into town in a holiday mood; when worn this way by an older man, it expresses that he is a sober, respectable citizen, in an optimistic mood, going to meet persons of equal status.

Footnote 95 - Coon, C. S.: Measuring Ethiopia, 1935, p. 116.

3: Buxton Y-5 (1946-1948)1949 MP5 Amhara MP5

133
312



Irrigated land, Atakilt

291
148
716

The ceremony of Timkat (Epiphany), near Debra Berhan

[Facing p. 171]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

[MANZ]

estates" make up the most common subjects of litigation in Manz, and hardly a day passes in the courts there without a hearing on some case about *rĭst*.

The Manzēs are as stubbornly loyal to their fathers' faith as they are to their land. They take much pride in the strictness with which the Orthodox fasts are observed in Manz, and in the fact that non-Christians are not to be found there. A number of legends told locally represent Manz as an especially hallowed Christian territory. One legend says that after the Crucifixion the angel Uriel gathered some of Jesus' blood on his wings and flew to Manz. Standing on the hill of Dabra Qopros in Māmā Meder, he shook his wings and thereby sprinkled the holy blood over the entire area. Another story dates the sanctification of Manz by the blood of Jesus to the time when a portion of the true Cross was brought to Ethiopia and tells of how on the way to its repository at Gishēn Māryām, in Wallo, some drops spilled from the relic onto Manz soil.[37] Still another legend relates that the Virgin Mary sojourned in Manz when Jesus was a young boy. Lake Alo Bāhr in western Gērā Meder is said to be the product of Mary's wrath—her punishment of the people who lived on what was dry land at the time for judging against her in a dispute with a local woman.

To defend his land, church, or honor, the typical Manzē is ready at short notice to fight to the death. In their own eyes, as in the eyes of others, the men of Manz are reputed for hardiness and combativeness. ***Mot ged yallam*** ("Never mind about death!") is the motto one governor from Manz volunteered as the key to the ethos of his people. The Manzē wants his son to be ***guabaz*** ("brave") and uses this term, like that of *waṭādar* ("soldier"), as a favorite compliment. The names which are characteristically given to children in Manz express this determination:

Ahidē	"Thrasher"	*Goshemē*	"Shover"
Asdangaṭ	"Frighten"	*Laṭybalu*	"Let Them Bow"
Atāmantā	"Don't Hesitate"	*Mān Yāzhāl*	"Who Orders You?"
Balātchaw	"Give It To Them"	*Nādaw*	"Wipe Him Out"
Balāy-metā	"Hit On The Top"	*Ṭālārgē*	"Powerful"
Chabudē	"Squeezer"	*Tāsaw*	"Smash Him"
Chaṣcheṣē	"Hacker"	*Weqātchaw*	"Thrash Them"

Female names in Manz sometimes reflect this virile emphasis; for example, *Hijibātchaw* ("Go Against Them") or *Asagadatch* ("She Makes Them Bow").

A common symbol of physical bravery is the *dulā*, a hardwood staff about three feet long. The Manzē is rarely seen without his *dulā*. It has many purposes—to brace his shoulders on long treks, to carry loads, to ward off dogs when he goes visiting, to support his body while listening to litigation or standing at the long church services.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*565 156 157 man, as we shall see in more detail below, includes the quality of leaving others alone.

[577] This strong sense of self is confirmed and symbolized by two conspicuous *565 156 411 Amhara customs: carrying staves and going on trips. A staff, like a pipe, affirms the ego in two ways. As a piece of personal property right at hand, it stimulates a sense of pride of ownership; as something external yet confronting the person, it makes the ego more conscious of its bounded reality. Such sensations are daily experiences for the Amhara peasant, who is rarely separated from the staff in one form or other. When he leaves his homestead he normally carries the hard *dulā*, a potential weapon of defense that likewise affirms his ego by bolstering self-confidence in a dangerous world. He braces the *dulā* against his back as he treks along, or holds it against the [481] front of his shoulder like a rifle. Older men walk using it as a cane. A special kind of staff made of softer wood (*zang*) is carried by pious and elderly [481] men. Participants in devotional services lean on still another type of staff (*maquāmiyā*) which is distributed in the church for that purpose.

*565 156 484 Traveling is another custom which affirms the ego, at least when one travels spontaneously and not in organized company. As the individual moves past various stimuli, his self-consciousness is heightened by the contrast between a persisting ego and a constantly changing environment. As a traveler par excellence—and a lone traveler, unless social rank requires the presence of retainers—the Amhara peasant frequently removes himself from familiar home settings and confronts an outside world. He loves to go on the road and will travel at the slightest provocation. For him a distance of two or three hours by foot is like the American's trip to the corner drugstore. Whether to visit relatives or pay respects after death, to go to market or to court, to get holy water at a distant church, or to look after land in a far away district, the Amhara peasant is on the move dozens of times each year, often for trips involving two or three days of travel.

*565 156 829 602 609 Because of the great emphasis on the self in Amhara experience and culture, one may for the moment say that the personal ego is the central object in the Amhara peasant's view of society. Exactly what might be meant by this statement and in what respects it needs qualification are questions that will be taken up in the concluding chapter. If it is so, certainly the next most prominent social object in his world is the circle of close ones, or *zamad*. *Zamad* refers in the first instance to consanguineal kin, and is distinguished from the category of those who are strangers, or *bā'ed*. This is perhaps the most important of all the sociological distinctions made by the Amhara: the former, *zamad*, are seen as entitled to the warmest hospitality, while toward *bā'ed* indifference and suspicion are appropriate responses.

*565 156 602 This does not mean that the kin group is a corporate entity whose interests and identity transcend that of the individual. On the contrary, the notion of